UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

The Real Issue

By ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

Duty to Civilization (*Part XI*)

By FRANCIS NEILSON

The Tolstoyan Group in Moscow

By SYDNEY STRONG

On the Threshold

By HARRY TAYLOR

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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IN

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. XC THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1923 Number 21

BROTHERHOOD: A HYMN.

A rising tide of voices
  Is calling loud and clear:
"We'll trust no more in warfare,
  Nor fill the world with fear;
We'll build for coming ages,
  We'll work for peace and good;
With glowing hearts erecting
  The Church of Brotherhood."

The God of all is leading
  His people to the light,
The clouds of hate are passing
  As day succeeds the night.
The flag of all the people
  Will be the flag of peace,
And Brotherhood triumphant
  Will crown the world's increase.

No more shall war divide us,
  For peace will be our guide,
With all the world united,
  We'll rise to heights untried.
From earth to empyrean,
  Again and yet again
Will ring the angel's carol
  Of peace, good will to men.

Adapted to the tune of Webb. Carine L. Rose.

In a book just come from the press, filled with the gloomiest prognostications of European disaster, we read that the Versailles Treaty, coupled with France's policy in execution of this document, is the immediate cause of the universal collapse that is now impending. Vast as was the material loss during the four years of the Great War, we are here told that the peace which followed has caused even greater loss. "Perhaps the peace will eventually kill more men than the war," says the author. The United States was wise, according to him, in refusing to ratify the Treaty, since, Clemenceau having made it a means of continuing the war, it became an instrument of destruction worthy of having originated in the mind of a von Bernhardi. Still more severe is the author's indictment of the lesser treaties deriving from the Versailles document. He writes:

> It is necessary to hark back to the Middle Ages to find treaties which are as low, from the moral point of view, or imbued with such brutal cynicism. * * * All the nations created after the peace treaty were contrived solely for the purpose of taking as much territory as possible away from Germany and Russia, and of separating, as much as possible, the German people from the Russian people. * * *
>
> It was believed that by starving Russia she might be forced under a system of economic control that was not openly declared; that by occupying Germany militarily with white and black troops and condemning her to every form of torture she might be dismembered and her unity broken; that by depriving Turkey of all her European territory she might be eliminated as a European power, confined within narrow boundaries and shorn of all religious control, like some small Asiatic State.
>
> This policy, nearly the same everywhere and characteristic of the Entente, especially in certain of its manifestations, was the best adapted for exasperating the nations to which it was applied. Turks, Russians and Germans are now in the same state of exasperation. Though possessing no actual tie in common, they are bound together by the same feeling of hatred, and everywhere there are in process of fermentation outbreaks of violence which are certainly far from contributing toward a policy of peace.

Nothing but new wars and annihilation lie ahead, says this author, unless the forces now at work are stayed. But who is this author? Who dares thus speak such condemnation of the gallant and unselfish Allies? What pro-German or Bolshevik thus slanders the saviors of the world? None other, we must confess, than ex-Premier Nitti, of Italy, unimpeachable patriot, and stalwart opponent of Germanism in every form. He happens also, however, to be an honest man, who sees, as he saw in his earlier book, "Peaceless Europe," the approaching fall of civilization. It would be interesting to know his opinion of the Ruhr.

Where is the League of Nations these dreadful days? There is a provision in the Covenant, we believe, that anything that threatens the peace and order of the world shall be regarded as a matter of "concern" to the League. This would seem to be elementary if the League is to be in any sense what its name implies. But look at the present situation! England and Turkey at swords' points at Lausanne over Mosul oil! France in the Ruhr, kindling tinder which may at any moment put the whole continent in a blaze! The Lithuanians running amuck at Memel, thus precipitating another "Balkan" crisis! Polish officers violating with impunity the neutral zone duly established by the League itself between Lithuania and Poland. Do not such events as these threaten the peace of the world, and are they not properly, therefore, a matter of "concern" to the League of Nations? And yet, what is the League doing? When does it speak? When is it mentioned except as an empty threat by a baffled diplomat when he needs one more cloak to cover his villainy? We visited Geneva this past summer, studied the League's organization under friendly auspices, was profoundly impressed by the personnel of the secretariat, and deeply touched by the sincerity of the workers and their sheer devotion to the highest ideals of internationalism. We came away with the

feeling that it would be almost a crime ever to speak a word which could embarrass in the slightest degree the labors of these noble men and women, striving so valiantly to keep a torch aloft amid the darkness of the times. But it is in this very spirit that we are venturing to make the inquiries noted above. Not in ridicule, or contempt, or enmity, but in earnest desire that the League, if it exist at all, shall function, do we humbly call attention to the fact that the torch is going out. The winds of discord blow upon it not to rekindle its flame but only to scatter its ashes. We believe that the time has come when the responsible officials of the League should either demand recognition in the present crises or else resign, pack up, and go home, after the admirable example of certain under-secretaries at Versailles. This would at least vindicate their self-respect, and prove to be perhaps the one thing needed to save the League to usefulness.

We wonder if we shall forfeit forever the good opinion of our readers, if we confess that the one item of news which has most held our interest in recent weeks is the story of the discovery of the tomb of the ancient Egyptian Pharaoh, Tuntankhamen, by the archeological expedition of Lord Carnarvon. Seldom have we been so stirred as by this fascinating tale of the uncovering of these remains of an imperial civilization, hitherto largely unknown, which seems to have rivaled in splendor and artistic culture the highest achievements of Greece and Rome. We have always had a sneaking suspicion that we should have been an archeologist by profession, and therefore find it hard not to envy these men who are having the thrilling experience of penetrating these hidden chambers and restoring to the light of day these thousands-of-years-old treasures. Beyond these personal aspects of this great discovery, of course, is the almost incredible contribution to historical knowledge which is here being achieved. By the mere lifting of a stone, so to speak, we are taken back into the intimate details of a period of life about which we have known practically nothing. And to our confusion we are made to see that, in this almost forgotten age, art and science had attained a degree of development which puts our own achievements in many ways to shame. What is progress? How far have we advanced beyond the ancients? In what respects are we wiser, better, abler men than these whose ashes we dig up from the desert sands? Verily, my brethren, we may well be humble. We have not gone so far nor climbed so high as we sometimes think. To walk the museums of the world is to wonder what we shall have to transmit to the future to equal these treasures transmitted to us from out the past.

What a wonderful faculty men seem to have for naming ships! Immortal is the ingenuity of Stillman, the New York banker, in calling the private yacht, on which he conducted his "wine, women and song" orgies, the "Modesty." This is only a little bit better, however, than the master-stroke of the United States government in sending to Europe, to bring home the last of our war-troops from the occupied area, a vessel named "St. Mihiel," after the battle which first took American soldiers into the European conflict. Best of all, it seemed to us, was the reference the other day to the French battleship, "Voltaire." Imagine naming a ship of war for the one man in the history of France who hated war from his very soul, and ridiculed and denounced it unmercifully as the final folly of human madness! "What's in a name?" Apparently nothing, except one more evidence of our general stupidity and indolence—our inability to think! Or is there indication of some kind of an unconscious "defense mechanism" at work here, as the psycho-analysts would call it? Are men ashamed of what they are doing, and do they try to conceal their evil deeds by putting on a fine front of respectability? Surely some queer complex was at work in Stillman's brain when he dubbed his floating palace "Modesty"; and something more than a desire to honor a great Frenchman is apparent in the action of the Paris government in christening a battleship "Voltaire." If this speculation be sound, we shall expect to see other amazing cognomens appearing on the ships that sail the sea. Thus a flagship of the American merchant marine will undoubtedly soon appear under the proud name, "Economy." The vessel selected to take home the deportees from Leavenworth Prison will of course be the "Justice." And the next battleship, the largest and most powerful in the world, will most appropriately be dubbed the "William Penn." Thus do we reveal ourselves, in our very endeavor to hide away our guilt.

Dr. Percy Stickney Grant's reply to Bishop Manning is exactly what was to have been expected from so able and honest a man. It is one of the most brilliant pieces of controversial literature that we have ever seen. Particularly notable is the use of quotations from Anglican scholars of great distinction and unimpeachable orthodoxy in support of the author's theological position. What Dr. Manning will do with his recalcitrant rector, we cannot imagine; it strikes us that Dr. Grant's letter leaves the Bishop in a most unenviable position. He must feel the way the French do in the Ruhr—very heartily wishing that they had left well enough alone! But before this editorial note is published, speculation will undoubtedly be at an end, and a heresy trial, or a rebuke, or a warning, or a sentence of "not guilty but don't do it again," will have ended the matter for the time being. Meanwhile we would here express what we feel to be the chief significance of this sensation—namely, the tragedy that a religious leader like Dr. Grant should find it advisable or neces-

sary to discuss theological questions affecting miracles, the nature of Jesus, the meaning of the creeds, etc., and then be obliged to take up endless time and energy in explaining and defending his position. Dr. Grant's letter to his Bishop was an able document, as we have said. But we must confess, none the less, that we found it awfully hard reading. Think of it! Here is the world tumbling to ruin, war threatening anew on every horizon, millions of people face to face with misery and starvation, the healing ministry and constructive guidance of religion needed in human affairs as never before in modern history—and here is a man like Dr. Grant taking up a whole page of a newspaper to explain with much elaboration that Jesus could not have walked on the water nor "descended into hell," that Christ's metaphysical relation with the Father may be this or may again be that, and that, whatever this relation, Christ's inferiority to the Father is made manifest by certain texts duly cited from the first Gospel, *Mark*. Ye gods and little fishes! Do we need to wonder any more as to why the church is dying? Do we need to regret any more that it is dying? Does any institution deserve to live that persists in this age in finding the center of religious concern and interest in such questions? Whether Jesus performed a juggler's trick is beside the point as compared with what he meant by love to God and man. The sooner a church which cannot see this fact is gotten out of the way, the better for all men everywhere.

We were thinking, as we read Dr. Grant's letter, how fortunate the Jews are in having no useless theological truck of this kind cluttering up their religion, when, having completed the reading, we turned to another page of the newspaper and found ourselves confronted by an account of a meeting of the Jewish rabbis of America, in which the question of the use of sacramental wine was under discussion. So far as we could make out from the newspaper report, there were some Jewish leaders who wanted to authorize the substitution of grape-juice for wine in the services of the synagogue, and others who contended that such substitution would be unscriptural, or contrary to tradition, or in violation of the ordinances of the law, or what not. Exactly the same situation in Judaism, in other words, as in Christendom! The same concern over "mint, anise and cummin," with utter neglect of "weightier matters." The same fiddling of the silly tunes of creed and ritual, while Rome burns! We sometimes wonder what foul witchery there is in religion that it should invariably lead men astray in this ludicrous and also tragic fashion? Why has it proved impossible in every age, in spite of the leadership of the greatest prophets, to keep the church on the true line of serving God simply by serving man? Is it true as some humanists in our time are strenuously contending, that we can never hope to make religion what it ought to be until we have gotten rid of every last vestige of what clings about religion as distinctive of its thought and practice—the name of God, the habit and language of prayer, the ceremonies of public worship, the hope of immortality, the sacred rites of marriage, christening and burial. For ourselves, we still shrink from such drastic spiritual surgery. The name of God is precious to us as a noble and indispensable word of poetry; prayer seems to us an expression of genuine psychological experience; public worship is a celebration and sanctification of human fellowship which can ill be spared; the rites of the church should ever remain something more than mere civil ceremonies. *But!* if all these things must go as the condition of delivering religion from the theological and ecclesiastical superstitions which persistently betray its life, we say the price is not too heavy and must be paid.

We have been much criticized in recent years for insisting that the average Protestant church is a private and not a public institution, and is most accurately to be regarded as a club. In "New Churches For Old" (page 227), we put the case thus: "The test of a church's character in this regard is the organization not of its congregation but of its membership. When we come to the question of actually 'joining a church,' as it is called, we find at once that there are conditions of admission. These conditions . . . may be said to run these days all the way from the most rigid tenets of orthodoxy to the more tenuous and intangible principles of liberalism. In essence, however, they all mean the same thing—that a candidate for membership must 'belong' before he can be received. The church, in other words, is exactly like a club—i.e., a private institution controlled by a private group of persons for the service of private interests. In this there is nothing illegitimate; a club is a perfectly proper type of organization in a democracy. But a club, be it said, is a *club* . . . and is not to be confused with a church. . . ." In the course of the Grant controversy, a perfectly delightful confirmation of this drastic indictment has come to hand. In a letter to the New York *Times*, a distinguished Episcopalian layman of the conventional type expressed himself as follows:

To the Editor of "The New York Times":

The matter of the Rev. Dr. Percy S. Grant seems to be one of such unusual interest that I think it is fitting that I should call your attention to an analogous case.

In 1912, after the National Republican Convention and when the Progressive Party was about forming, President Roosevelt was a member of the Republican Club of New York, of which at the time I was President. Almost immediately upon his return from Chicago I received a letter directed to me as the President of the club, which read about as follows:

"In view of the fact that I am not in sympathy with the principles of the Republican Party as enunciated by the platform adopted at the National Convention, I hereby tender my resignation as a member of the Republican Club of New York."

This resignation was promptly and necessarily accepted and the matter ended.

It would seem that a similar course should be pursued by Dr. Grant, but then there is evidently a great difference in the character of the two men.

J. VAN VECHTEN OLCOTT.

New York, Jan. 25, 1923.

This letter was printed under the significant heading, "An Analogy." So the church *is* a club, after all!

The Real Issue

The indifference, even contempt, for the church and all that pertains to it has reached a point where it can not be ignored. The church, the sum of all the organizations that speak in the name of religion, cannot be indifferent to the situation.

Thomas R. Slicer once said to a meeting of ministers in Boston, "We belong to a discredited profession." It may be no more discredited than the law or medicine. It is unfortunately true that these professions do not in the minds of many represent any real service to society. But the reasons advanced for this opinion in regard to these two learned professions are entirely different from those which are the basis for a criticism of the ministry and the church. These reasons are said to be inherent in law and medicine. It is true that some say this of the ministry. But they are comparatively few among the much larger number who base their criticism on other grounds. These make the serious charge not that the minister is useless but that he is insincere.

No one can mingle very long among all classes of men without becoming distinctly aware that the real charge against the ministry is primarily one of moral rather than intellectual weakness. There is no doubt that much criticism is based on the latter ground in certain circles. But even here the former criticism is not wanting. Among the great masses of the people, who know nothing of higher criticism of the Bible and are willing to leave to the professors the discussion of the origin of religion, the issue is plain. I am not at this point discussing its justification. I am saying only that in some way this attitude of mind toward the ministry has come to be the common possession of large numbers of plain people. All one needs to do is to watch the attitude of the audience when a street speaker is introduced as a minister. On such occasions I have always insisted that I should not be introduced as a minister. I have invariably noted the barrier that has arisen between me and my audience when this injunction has been neglected. It can only be overcome with great difficulty. Unquestionably other factors enter into the situation, but many conversations with "all sorts and conditions of men," East and West, have led me to believe that I am correct in saying that the real basis of the feeling is a questioning of the moral integrity of ministers. No doubt but what much of this is illogical and unfair and that the same criticism might be turned upon those that criticize. But that is not to the point. Men in general expect more of ministers than they do of themselves.

Recently three men in widely different walks of life told me that they had no interest in churches. When I pressed them for a reason each one said, "No minister can tell the truth." Obviously such a generalization is not true. Many ministers do speak out without any hesitancy the truth as they see it. I am inclined to think that a very large number do. And yet when I reported these conversations to a group of church people I asked them what was the reasons given by these three men for their indifference to the church. Instantly the reply came, "Insincerity."

I give these facts not with glee but with profound sorrow. Such a loss of confidence in the teachers of religion cannot fail to have a most serious effect on the moral and spiritual life of the coming generation. It is obvious that when large numbers of people doubt the sincerity of ministers that churches themselves cannot be a source of power in the development of the highest and best in man.

The man-in-pew has the unquestioned right to maintain his own intellectual integrity, but if he permits his minister to consider him rather than the truth he is only contributing to a situation now serious enough. This is a matter which concerns not the minister alone but all who are interested in the maintenance of a realization of the worth of spiritual values.

A great deal of sympathy is being awakened today for men of so-called liberal opinion in orthodox churches. On the other hand those men who demand that these "liberals" state frankly whether or not they believe the creeds they profess to believe are called "heresy hunters." They are condemned as bigoted partizans.

I confess that I have some sympathy for these partizans. A minister enters the fellowship of a church of his own free will. He enters not by coercion. He is not held in the church by force. He solemnly pledges himself to teach the faith and creed of the church of which he becomes a minister. Only on such a basis can any man honestly enter a religious fellowship. It seems plain that when the conditions on which a minister enters such a fellowship can not be maintained by himself it is his high and solemn duty to withdraw. No plea on the ground that he can do more good by boring from within or leavening the lump can alter this fact. A minister's first duty is to maintain the integrity of his own soul.

If a minister persists in saying one thing and believ-

ing another he lays the foundation for the contention that churches and creeds are not only breeders of insincerity but also that ministers are not to be trusted as teachers of the moral truth. He cannot blame men for quoting the lines from the Iliad which say, "Hateful to me, even as the portals of Hades, is he who hides one thing in his heart and speaks another."

If a minister replies that no man can believe the creeds as they are, then the important thing for him and for humanity is that he shall stand up frankly and say so in plain and unmistakable language.

He to whom the truth is true
Serves mankind the best.

Some time ago a young minister, whose doubts had brought him to the breaking point with his church, went with his heart's agony to one of its renowned preachers for advice. The older man said, "I'll tell you what I did. I read to the council the Athanasian creed. Then I interpreted it in scientific terms which no one understood and I got through all right." The young man went away with a heavy heart. Later he asked another minister how he managed to stay in his church. Quick as a flash came the reply, "I believe in freedom. I read the creed and interpret it my way and let the congregation interpret it its way."

It is a serious thing to debase the coin of the realm. But is it not a much more serious thing to debase by evasion and mental reservation spiritual values? If civilization depends upon the development of men of a high sense of honor, as I believe it does, it is then more important that ministers should be men of intellectual honesty than that they should be "liberal."

Those men who privately boast that they do not believe the ancient dogmas and the historic creeds which they publicly profess are not ministers of religion but ministers of death. He has a poor opinion of the truth who deems it necessary that he shall sacrifice the highest and best in him for its defense.

I am not passing judgment on any man. I am reporting what I have seen and heard. It is a matter which vitally concerns ministers and people. These are fundamental things. If it is whispered about that Reverend Doctor So-and-So does not believe what he professes to believe, he is giving excuse for every other man to dodge his moral obligation. Honesty is not a back number as one popular preacher said recently. Pragmatism has not ditched all moral values in the world. In a social order that ultimately rests on spiritual realities, that order can only be continued by loyalty to these realities. In this world no man is called upon to deny his own soul for the glory of God.

Only as ministers are willing to say frankly, but kindly and lovingly, the things they really believe in their hearts, can they have power to shape and mould the destiny of the race. To them is the high duty and glorious privilege of searching for and proclaiming the truth as they see it. Today in this world of agony and sorrow what men need more than all else is a renewed faith in the moral order and new realization of the reality of spiritual values. It is the business above all else of men who are teachers of religion to set themselves to this task. But to do this they must convince mankind that they cherish the truth above church and creed.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

Duty to Civilization

XI.

While France, Belgium, England and Russia were busily setting all their military and naval machinery in operation, Isvolsky telegraphed to Sazanoff, July 29th, as follows:

"Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
"Telegram No. 202. R. O. No.
"Paris, July (16) 29, 1914.

"The (French) Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs told me that the German ambassador communicated with him this morning about as follows: Germany continues her efforts in Vienna, to induce Austria to a friendly exchange of opinions which would decide the aim and scope of the steps undertaken by her and of which Germany as yet is not fully informed. The fact of the declaration of war will not stand in the way of this exchange of opinions, in the course of which Germany hopes to receive declarations which will satisfy Russia. Finally Baron Schoen once more protested against the allegations that Germany is encouraging Austria not to yield. ISVOLSKY."

The whole of this dispatch was suppressed in the Official Orange Book. The same day Isvolsky telegraphed to Sazanoff as follows:

"Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
"Telegram No. 206. R. O. No.
"Paris, July (16) 29, 1914.

"At his arrival in Paris the President of the Republic was greeted with demonstrations of sympathy by the crowds assembled at the station and in the streets. Margerie told me that the President, from conversations he has had during his trip with prefects and political personalities, has convinced himself of the firm, energetic, yet quiet spirit of the public opinion, which clearly understands the true meaning of present events. This same spirit even prevails among a great many of the Radical-Socialists. To the efforts of anti-militarist demonstrations by the revolutionary party the Government attributes no importance, and will use peremptory measures against them. Our Military Attache reports fully about preparatory military proceedings. The spirit in circles of the army and chiefs of command is very high. I will report in a special telegram about the attitude of the press. ISVOLSKY."

This telegram was suppressed in the Official Orange Book. On July 29th, the German ambassador, Baron Schoen, complained to Viviani of France's military preparations. On July 30th, the German ambassador at St. Petersburg, asked Sazanoff whether Russia would be satisfied in case Austria promised not to violate the integrity of the kingdom of Servia. Sazanoff says that he answered that such a promise would not suffice. The telegrams of July 30th, suppressed in the Official Orange Book, make interesting reading.

"Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassador at Paris.

"Telegram No. 1555. R. O. No.

"Petersburg, July (17) 30, 1914.

"Very urgent. I refer to my telegram 1554. Until we shall have received through the German Government an absolutely satisfying answer from Austria, we shall continue our preparations for war. This is communicated to you very confidentially. SAZANOFF."

"Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"Telegram No. 208. R. O. No.

"Paris, July (17) 30, 1914.

"Your telegram No. 1551 received.

"This telegram reached me in the night and I communicated it at once, that is to say at three in the morning, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. According to my suggestions our military attache made the same communication to the Minister of War. Poincare, Viviani and the Minister of War Messimy, at once had a conference at the Elysee, as a result of which a telegram of about the following contents was sent to the French Ambassador at Petersburg. The telegram begins with a reference to the instructions he received from the armoured cruiser 'France.' It then continues: 'The French Government is ready to fulfill all their obligations as an ally. But they think that it would be appropriate at the present moment, while negotiations still are pending between the less interested Powers, if Russia would, as far as the defensive and precautionary measures which she considers necessary permit, not take any immediate steps which Germany might use as a pretext to order the general or partial mobilization of her forces.' ISVOLSKY."

"Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"Telegram No. 209. R. O. No.

"Paris, July (17) 30, 1914.

"Continuation of my telegram 208.

"The contents of the telegram to the French Ambassador at Petersburg were at once transmitted to London, and Paul Cambon was charged to enter into immediate consultation with Grey, to decide on the mutual attitude of France and England, about which these two Powers according to a general understanding existing between them, have to confer as soon as a period of political tension occurs. ISVOLSKY."

"Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"Telegram No. 210. R. O. No.

"Paris, July (17) 30, 1914.

"Continuation of my telegram 209.

"Margerie with whom I just spoke tells me that the French Government do not wish to interfere with our military preparations, that, however, they would consider it most desirable on account of the still continuing negotiations for the preservation of the peace, if these preparations were carried on in the least open, least provocative manner possible. For his part, the Minister of War expressed the same idea to our military Attache, and said we might declare that, in the higher interests of peace, we were willing to slow down for the time being our preparations for mobilization, which would not hinder us to continue and even accelerate these preparations, but on so doing we would have to refrain as much as possible from the transportation of troops on a larger scale. At half past ten a ministerial conference will take place, presided over by Poincare. After its termination I shall at once see Viviani.

"ISVOLSKY."

"Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"Telegram 212. R. O. No.

"Paris, July (17) 30, 1914.

"The ministerial conference presided over by Poincare expressed its approval of the telegram sent last night to the French ambassador at Petersburg, as mentioned in my telegram No. 208.

"ISVOLSKY."

The rest of the story is told in the telegrams of July 31st, which were suppressed in the Official Orange Book:

"Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassador at Paris.

"Telegram No. 1592. R. O. No.

"Petersburg, July (18) 31, 1914.

"The Austrian Ambassador called on me and told me that his Government are ready to enter into an exchange of opinions in reference to the contents of the ultimatum sent to Serbia. I expressed my gratification and remarked to the Ambassador that it would be preferable to have these negotiations in London under participation of the Great Powers. We hope that the English Government will accept the management of this conference, whereby it would oblige all Europe to gratitude. To assist these negotiations to a successful end it is most desirable that Austria discontinue her military operations on Serbian territory. Also communicated to London, Berlin, Vienna, and Rome. SAZANOFF."

"Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"Telegram No. 214. R. O. No.

"Paris, July (18) 31, 1914.

"The French Ambassador telegraphed that Jagow asked him to call and told him that, to his greatest regret, Germany, in consideration of 'the general mobilization of the Russian army' is forced to take up military precautions which conform to the German term 'Kriegsgefahr,' and include different measures such as the closing of the frontier, the proclaiming of martial law, etc. Germany asks Russia to demobilize in default whereof she will also mobilize. The ministerial conference which at once met under presidency of Poincare decided to adopt the most complete

measures in regard to the five army corps stationed near the frontier, said measures however not bearing the character of 'mobilization.' When Margerie told me this he added that France would immediately answer German mobilization by mobilizing her own forces. It should be noticed that a dispatch of the Havas Agency, received here from Berlin, also speaks of the 'general mobilization of the Russian army,' which suggests the idea that Germany endeavors for one reason or another, to call forth a premature analogous action on the side of France. ISVOLSKY."

"Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
"Telegram No. 215. R. O. No.
"Paris, July (18) 31, 1914.

"At half past six in the evening the German Ambassador came to Viviani and declared in the name of his Government that, considering the 'full mobilization of the Russian Army and Navy' Germany had been forced to adopt measures which correspond to the German term 'Kriegsgefahr.' At the same time Germany demanded that Russia demobilize. Russia is granted twelve hours' time after which, in case of a declining answer, Germany also will mobilize. Baron Schoen added that he has been charged to inquire what attitude France would take in case of an armed encounter between Russia and Germany. Viviani listened to the Ambassador's message but declined to give him an answer. Thereupon Baron Schoen said that he will come to-morrow at one for his answer, and begged in advance to give the necessary orders for his departure. At the moment a special ministerial conference is in session under presidency of the President of the Republic. Margerie, who just told me these particulars declared that in all probability Viviani would not give the Ambassador his answer to-morrow either, as he sees in Germany's proceedings a trick, to put the blame for a declaration of war upon France. Margerie added that a telegram from the French Ambassador at Petersburg, dated from this morning, has just been received, which confirms the full mobilization of the Russian army without adding any explanations whatsoever.
"ISVOLSKY."

"Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
"Telegram No. 216. R. O. No.
"Paris, July (18) 31, 1914.

"From the Military Attache to the Minister of War at 1 A. M. The French Minister of War disclosed to me with hearty high spirits that the French Government have firmly decided upon war, and begged me to confirm the hope of the French General Staff that all our efforts will be directed against Germany and that Austria will be treated as a *quantite-negligeable*. ISVOLSKY."

The publication of these suppressed telegrams will, no doubt, shock the sensibilities of many of our professors of political science. Whether they will set them apologizing for the Allies, is another matter. In all probability they will stay with the pulpiteers and profiteers steeped in the juice of their prejudice. Anyway, it is pretty safe to assume that not one of them will have the brazen effrontery again to tell their students or their congregations that Germany was wholly responsible for the war.

There is another matter of vast importance, which has come to light since the foregoing articles were published in UNITY. It concerns the indictment drawn up at Versailles, of Germany's responsibility for planning and beginning the war. That indictment was based upon three documents. (1) A dispatch from the French Ambassador at Berlin, dated November 22, 1913, purporting to be the record of a conversation between the Kaiser, the King of the Belgians, and General von Moltke, and published in the French Yellow Book; (2) The record of an alleged secret War Council held at Potsdam on July 5, 1914; (3) The text of a report dated July 18, 1914, attributed to the Bavarian Minister at Berlin, Count Lerchenfeld (but whose author was Baron Schoen, Secretary of the Bavarian Legation), to the Bavarian Government. The first and second counts in the indictment have been rejected. It is with the third count I wish to deal, the authenticity of the so-called Lerchenfeld dispatch to the Bavarian Government on July 18th, 1914. On reflection, I cannot do better than quote from the article on this question which appeared in *Foreign Affairs,* July, 1922:

"At the end of November, 1918, the Kurt Eisner revolutionary Government at Munich published the text of a report from the Bavarian Legation at Berlin, written by the Legation's Secretary, Baron Schoen, to the Bavarian Government on July 18, 1914, dealing with the Imperial German Government's attitude towards Austria in the latter's quarrel with Serbia. As published, this report showed the Imperial German Government cynically contemplating the explosion of a world-war as the result of Austria's proposed coercive measures against Serbia. Only after Germany had signed the Versailles Treaty did it become known that the text of Schoen's report had been published by Kurt Eisner in a mutilated form, *i. e.*; with important omissions. The full text revealed the Imperial German Government as contemplating and approving, not a world-war, but a localized war between Austria and Serbia.

"The incident has recently given rise to a libel action to which great historical importance attaches. In view of the efforts made by the Jingo Press of France and England to attenuate its significance, I hope that *Foreign Affairs* will allow the facts to be set out. In its issue of July, 1921, the Bavarian nationalist monthly, the *Suddeutsche Monatschrift,* published a severe criticism of Eisner's action, and its editor, Professor Cossmann, added a footnote thereto to the effect that Mrs. Eisner, Kurt Eisner's widow, denied that the falsification had been perpetrated by her late husband, but by his private secretary, a certain Herr Fechenbach. Thereupon Fechenbach brought a libel action against Cossmann. It was tried at Munich and lasted from April 27 to May 4. The questions submitted to the court ran as follows:

"(1) Does the publication of the documents of July, 1914, constitute a falsifi-

cation? (2) Had the falsification a fatal effect upon the Peace Treaty? (3) Was the falsification committed by the complainant?

"Expert reports were read from twelve foreign authorities, amongst them the well-known American historian, Professor Sidney B. Fay; Captain E. N. Bennett and Mr. Joseph King, of the British I.L.P.; two members of the Neutral Commission into the war's origin; the Attorney-General of the Argentine Republic; a former Serbian diplomatist, and other American, Italian, Spanish and Swedish experts in law or history. *All of them came to the conclusion that there had been falsification* (some of them making reservations as to the exact meaning of the German equivalent for falsification). *The most crushing judgment of all was that of the French Professor, M. Edouard Dujardin, of the Paris Sorbonne,* whose letter, after a detailed examination of the documents, concluded thus:

> "I am of the opinion that the text such as published by the *Bayerische Staetszeitung* is one of the most manifest and most criminal falsifications known to history.

"Out of the eight German experts, who gave evidence *viva voce* and under oath, seven were of the same opinion. Only Professor Quidde, though strongly condemning the frivolous manner in which the abbreviated text had been originally published, contended that no intention to falsify could be proved. No doubt existed among the German experts as to the fact that the original publication had done much harm to the German cause. They argued that it had probably contributed to increase the cruelty of the Peace Treaty, and that it had been, and still was, an obstacle to destroying the myth of Germany's sole responsibility for the War. As to whether the falsification was perpetrated by Herr Fechenbach or not, no evidence could be produced, Fechenbach declaring that he had simply acted as Kurt Eisner's tool when typewriting the abbreviated text."

Thus the third count in the indictment laid down in the Treaty of Versailles is disposed of, and let us hope that the period of lying, faking, garbling, and murdering is fast passing away. The end, however, may be long in coming, for American leaders of thought do little or nothing to hasten the end. Not one word appeared in any American newspaper of the trial at Munich. The conspiracy of silence of the press, pulpit and rostrum is maintained with all the severity of war-time. When will the great silence be broken, and who will dare be man enough to break it? Maybe the people themselves will start from their seeming apathy, and some day soon seek the truth pertaining to the whole horrible business of the destruction of Europe. Well, all they have to do is to seek. The evidence is extant, and anyone who earnestly desires to know the truth of the matter can have it for the seeking.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

The Tolstoyan Group in Moscow

Editorial Correspondence

In going to Moscow I had in mind to get in contact, if possible, with the friends of Tolstoy. I was greatly favored, far beyond my expectations. I may say that the two things I was interested in discovering in Moscow, were first, how the "Tolstoyan movement" was getting on, and second how the program of the Soviet Republic was advancing. I had for years been a warm admirer of the spirit and writings of Tolstoy; in fact had been and am still profoundly influenced by them. I discovered first of all that those best equipped to speak of Tolstoy were averse to referring to the "Tolstoyan movement." Whatever there was in the way of a "movement" was "spiritual, and could not be classified nor organized." There should not therefore be reference to a Tolstoyan Society, but instead there are many individuals who have been inspired by Tolstoy and yet are independent souls, as was Tolstoy, responding to the light of the father of the spirit of life. What I have said applies to what may be called the acquaintances and disciples of Tolstoy. As a matter of fact, there are several sects—Baptists, Friends, Mennonites, Donkobours, etc.—numbering perhaps a million, who, in several essentials are on a Tolstoyan platform.

The headquarters for what may be called the pacifist movement in Moscow—and Russia—is in the Vegetarian House, very close to the heart of the city. Beside the restaurant, there are offices, with rooms for classes, lectures, etc. I found a small book shop, where the works of Tolstoy and others are to be found. These books, mostly pamphlets, have not been printed since the war, for two reasons. First, there is no money for this purpose, and then, it is not always possible to satisfy the state censor.

At the Vegetarian House, meetings are held twice a week. I attended two of these. One was a lecture by a delegate to a Peace meeting in Switzerland. The other was a conference, when a Russian translation was read of Oliver Dryer's pamphlet on "A Christian International." It was freely discussed, the only objection lodged against the idea was that of its limiting the fellowship to "Christian." "Why not Hindus and Jews of any nation who have the spirit of internationalism?"

It was certainly a great pleasure to be present at a gathering when, among others, were such eminent men as Ivan Gorbournoff, author; Paul Birukoff, the biographer of Tolstoy; V. Tchertkoff, long time friend of Tolstoy, not to speak of the younger Tchertkoff (V. V.), whom I should judge to be one of the ablest of the younger generation, who are accepting and promoting the teachings of Jesus on the use of violence.

One evening I attended a mass meeting held in a large hall (this same room where the clergy were, that week, on trial for their lives), the program being made up of addresses and singing, in memory of Tolstoy. It was the anniversary of his death, I believe.

One afternoon, I spent several hours in the Peoples Court, with Olga Tolstoy, daughter-in-law of Tolstoy, kindly acting as interpreter of the proceedings. There were several features of the scene that greatly interested me. In the first place the cases all involved "conscientious objectors" to war, to conscription. The

conduct of the court proceedings was commendably simple and democratic. I was reminded of "justice of peace" cases I witnessed in my boyhood days, in the little Ohio village—in the days of Jeffersonian democracy before the era of begowned judges, high platforms, and strutting bailiffs.

In the Moscow "Peoples Court," the judge sat on a small platform, possibly 18 inches above the floor. He was dressed as simply as a country school-master. On each side of him sat a woman, attired as an ordinary work woman. The woman said nothing throughout the trial, only nodding several times in response to a whisper from the judge. The first case called was the longest and most important for the day, so let me describe it briefly.

The defendant was a young man of twenty. He was a student and at the same time worked on a farm, where I believe a group of Tolstoyans reside. He gave the history of his protest to war, that influenced by Jesus and Tolstoy and the teaching of the spirit within, also by the training of his mother, he was unable conscientiously to answer to the conscription call. He told his story briefly, the judge now and then in a friendly manner, interjecting a question or a short argument. After he had given his witness, several friends, among them Paul Birnkoff gave testimony. After this, an "expert," who had examined his case in a sympathetic spirit (the "expert" in this case was V. V. Tchertkoff, Jr.) gave his findings. He was followed by an "expert," who had studied the case from another angle. It was found that the young man would refuse to accept military service, that the only thing he would do was "to farm." The judge and his two associates retired and returned in 20 minutes with the verdict that he would be permitted "to farm," but it must be on a "government farm." Wherefore, the young man declared that he would "farm," but he must be on his "own farm." Then, the judge quietly remarked that he "might think it over for a week."

A second case was that of a "Baptist," 33 years old, who had practically cited himself. The "expert" this time was a Baptist. The defendant declared that while he had not been drafted, yet there were so many wars and revolutions that he wished to make it clear before hand, that he would not respond to conscription. His case was dismissed I believe. The case of a petty officer who had refused to use poison gas on the peasants, when ordered to do so, was continued.

There is one interesting feature in the Russian method of handling C. Os. worth noting. There is a voluntary board, made up of representatives of the several sects. The elder Tcherkoff is chairman of the board. When any one gets into trouble over conscription, he is apt to seek the advice of this board, which has a semi-legal standing in the courts; here he is thoroughly examined by several different persons who seek to ascertain the genuineness of his "conscience." The findings of this board are used by the court in making its decision.

Certain features of the court proceedings will be interesting. I have spoken of the unadorned aspect of the court room. After the court had adjourned (there was no silly proclamation by sheriff, no flight of the judge to his chambers, away from the "people," to take a fat dinner or a bottle of champagne by himself) the judge stepped down upon the floor, much as a country teacher might step down, after school, to mingle with the scholars. So the judge mixed with the people, shook hands with "experts," not overlooking the "defendants," and in due course of time I was introduced to him.

I congratulated him on the democratic proceedings and the simple and fair way he had treated the defendants, etc. Then I said, but "what of the two women, what do they do? In America, they would talk more." He laughed and said, "They talk more when they get into the other room." Then he explained that these two represented the "revolutionary conscience." "I am the judge of law, but these two are chosen, generally by labor unions, and they look at the case in the light of the 'revolutionary conscience.'" This meant, as I understand it, that the alleged offense is regarded as serious, or otherwise, as it affects the program of the revolution. As a matter of fact, a person who is a member of the communist party is much more surely punished than an ordinary citizen. A person, for graft and theft that jeopardized the revolutionary government, might in fact be shot. The two side-partners of the judge (not always women) sit therefore as interpreters of the "revolutionary conscience."

It took some time for my Anglicized mentality to adjust itself to this idea; but it is not unlike the influence of the "jury," who are supposed to represent the "public mind." While the "judge" stands for the "law." It amounts to about the same thing, in the end, with this difference, that in America the "public mind," as interpreted by "12 good men and women," is subject to passing passions and social values while in Russia, "the revolutionary conscience" is in harmony with a rather definite program, described in the Workers' government.

As to the Tolstoyan group in Russia, I came away a bit dejected over the outlook. Those I met are able high-grade people, who deserve considerate treatment. I am hoping that the Russian government—as it has done in some other things—will set a good example to the world in its treatment of the conscientious objectors. The present government has not been so severe as the Czarists. The present government has been quite as considerate as America and Britain. But I am hoping that a Workers' government, in the land of Tolstoy, will find a way to get the benefit of such citizens as conscientious objectors, without sacrificing its own security. It is worthy of patient effort. If it is done it will add a laurel to the endeavors of those who regard themselves as fighting the battle of the proletariat of the world. Personally, I believe there is a fundamental unity between Tolstoy and Marx. I hope Russia, or some country, will discover and reveal it.

My picture of the treatment of the Tolstoyans would not be complete if I did not say that while I was in Moscow the home of one of them was searched for several hours by the police looking for some kind of incriminating documents. Letters were removed and a few hours later, the Tolstoyan was arrested, jailed for a half day and then released. He seemed to be undaunted by the incident: and such incidents are world wide phenomena. A friend for example told me that he recognized a disguised United States Secret Service man, at the door of one of the Moscow hotels. The whole business of espionage is so repulsive to me, that I am hoping that Russia's government will find a new model way of handling conscientious objectors. In fairness I must add that I do not know whether the search in this incident related to war on other grounds than those of his being a non-resistant and Tolstoyan.

SYDNEY STRONG.

On the Threshold

Last night I sat in the house of a friend to hear his new Radio instrument operate. We were in a closed attic. The instrument had no material connection with the outside world at all: there was not even the usual wire sticking out from the roof. A screen arrangement with copper wires that made it look almost like a harp was the sound receiver. A wet battery was the source of power; there was not even the outside connection through the electric lighting wires.

We were alone in an attic and yet, as I found later, not alone. The God to whom I pray was to manifest Himself anew in a more marvellous way than I had yet known. "Closer is He than breathing, nearer than hands and feet."

My friend adjusted the instrument and we placed the ear-drums to our ears. A few turns of the regulating disk and, lo, a man's voice was heard as clear as my friend's in the room, singing a tender song of Mother. The song finished and a voice told us who and where was the singer. Another touch of the instrument and we heard another voice calling through the night. This voice was from Schenectady, New York, five hundred miles from where we were seated. Then a lady's voice pealed forth in glorious melody and we listened entranced to a concert five hundred miles away. Another slight turn of the disk and we heard yet another voice tell us that it was from the broadcasting station at Seattle, Washington, over two thousand miles away! And we listened again to a singer who was singing on the Pacific Coast.

A little time afterwards a clear, deep voice came through from Louisville, Kentucky, telling us the correct Washington time. We could have heard it from Washington direct but here it was by way of Louisville. Again the disk revolved and now for a moment we caught the sharp tick of the wireless telegraph as the Morse Code rapidly ticked off. And so for many hours we sat in our attic and the Universe came to us through shingled roof and wooden floors!

What was it the old Psalmist said? "Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from Thy presence? If I ascend up into Heaven, Thou art there; if I make my bed in the grave, behold, Thou art there."

And to-day we are proving it by Science!

We are peeping in at the threshold of another world and, to the seeing eye, the hearing ear and the understanding heart, the veil is lifted ever so slightly and what was shrouded in mystery begins to clear. God's Universe is alive; not a particle, tangible or intangible, ever dies. To-day we are learning that our voices and our music may circle the globe and will, before long, be heard on the other side. Nothing is ever lost; not a grain of dust is ever wasted in this wonderful universe. The world and the stars are one big whispering gallery.

Does it mean that our spoken words never die? Does it mean that even our thoughts are tangible realities that at some later stage in man's development may be heard around the globe like that voice out of the night from Seattle?

Prayer is not so fraught with mystery as before; God hears our thoughts. Other beings in a higher sphere than that of struggling humans may hear it too and, as God's vicegerents, answer. If in this infancy of man we can sit in an attic and listen across a continent shall any man deny that the ear of the Almighty cannot hear our unspoken aspirations? May they not link up with something, start in motion something that may mean weal or woe for us?

One touch of that little disk and meaningless buzzing is turned into sweetest melody. It is all in the finer adjustment, the greater knowledge. Do we not feel in this the first faint whisperings of that revelation that will unlock for us the Gates of Death? But a little further on the path, with but ever so little finer adjustment, and may we not get in touch with friends and loved ones "not lost but gone before"? May it not have happened time and time again that the great leaders of our race have been just a little farther ahead than we are, have had a little greater knowledge of God's laws and a little finer adjustment?

I felt no longer alone in the attic that night. I saw that the Universe is all alive, that no part of it ever dies, that I never die, that everything is and ever will be. This body of mine perishes in the dust but I see more clearly that all that is really me cannot perish. My words carry round the globe and, maybe, across the stars to other worlds. My very thoughts and aspirations are building up something that affects the whole world for good or for evil.

O fools and blind! are not our thoughts right here and now sent out swiftly to Russia, Germany, China, Japan and India? If they are unlovely thoughts do they not breed evil and woe? Will not even our unspoken thoughts of love and friendship help to make the world one? If we really have Christian love in our hearts for all men will not that unspoken attitude bring peace and harmony to the world? The whole world is one and indivisible; we are all linked in invisible bands and our thoughts and words pass swiftly from continent to continent as does the music on the Radio. Hate and Greed, Peace and Goodwill are tangible realities that begin to work and pass around as quickly as they are conceived. They work weal or woe in places unseen and unknown to us.

Sitting with my friend in his attic and listening to the voices the thought was borne in on me that time and space may be elusions. That night space was annihilated; distance no longer separated. May not time also be an invention of our immature minds? With God there is no time; He is the great I AM.

Also, in the attic, I felt that the Universe had shrunken. The telegraph made the world very small; but the Radio may make it but as a small island in that vast archipelago which is our larger world. May there not, even now, on yonder shining Venus be beings in some higher sphere of existence sending out messages across the sky to Mars or Jupiter? May there not even now be messages flashing across to us that we in our infancy cannot decipher? May not every planet be the abode of some sentient race who would be *en rapport* with us could we but find the key?

We stand on the threshold and it is holy ground. These new revealings of the wonder and glory of the world ought to fill us with ever grander aspirations and ever broadening purpose. We are part and parcel

of God's purpose and that purpose is man's perfection. The greater our knowledge the greater our responsibility. Let us have faith that we can conquer and the world state will arrive.

We are not alone; the Radio proves that. All round about us unseen helpers and laws are ready to come to our assistance and lift us still higher if we only seek and find.

O world invisible, we view thee,
O world intangible, we touch thee,
O world unknowable, we know thee,
Inapprehensible, we clutch thee.

HARRY TAYLOR.

THE STUDY TABLE

A Valuable Book

A welcome book has been published recently by The Macmillan Company, entitled "Outlines of Child Study." It is edited by Benjamin C. Gruenberg, Ph.D., and is prepared from material collected and tabulated by the "Federation for Child Study" of New York; an organization which has for the last twenty to thirty years made a thorough and careful study of needs and methods in child culture. This Federation for Child Study was started at the suggestion of Dr. Felix Adler. It has long had the fine devotion and intelligent guidance of Mrs. Bird Stein Gans, and is now a large organization with many "Chapters" and much collateral work. The book is so arranged as to form an invaluable guide to private or group study of the best ways of training children for the development of mental, physical and moral strength and power.

Dr. Edward L. Thorndike,in his Introduction, draws attention to the admirable topical arrangement of the material of the book with its specific references in bibliography under each head. A general Survey of the Child's Development with a suggestive statement of problems and full indication for general reading leads on to the topics of health; infancy and its disciplines; obedience; punishment, imagination, truth and falsehood; curiosity; fear; imitation and suggestion; instinct and habit; freedom and discipline; constructing and destroying; toys and tools; language and speech; manners; the use of money with a study of acquisitiveness; initiative, spontaneity, ambitions and ideals; fighting, plays, outdoor life, travel and adventure, arts and music; and finally to a study of the problems of adolescence and the choice of life work. A study of exceptional children, both the superior and inferior, and the relation of the education of the individual to civic welfare, social progress and religious culture rounds out the book.

The volume is unique in its clear and highly condensed treatment of the most modern and well-balanced psychological truths and in its guidance toward definite study of essential elements of child understanding and training. Its References for Reading are so arranged as to outline a course of intensive work for those capable of extended devotion to this vital subject. There is no topic and no suggested outline of study and reading which could better engage the attention of a class of parents in a Sunday School having adult members, or in a Parent-Teachers Association or a department of a Woman's Club.

Much that experts have to give in the line of child-study and culture is difficult of access to the ordinary parent and to most teachers. In this little book is packed guide-post instruction to make an easier highway to knowledge than is usually to be found. The work of the Federation for Child Study as it is known by those acquainted with it, is of the highest type of earnest and expert investigation and practical service. This volume gives the distilled results of long effort and the patient accumulation of study material.

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.

Clerical Defenders of the Bayonet

One cannot read Mr. Pinkham's letters to Professor Harry Emerson Fosdick* without recalling the declaration made some years ago by a rather discouraged Christian minister that if he had personal and private information that the Kingdom of Heaven were to be here on earth tomorrow he would pray to the Good Lord to put it off for a few days so as not to scare the good people to death who are praying for it all the time.

The test of the sincerity of a belief is whether we are prepared to act as if it were true. Mr. Pinkham applied this test to himself during the late war and in his correspondence with Professor Fosdick attempted to apply it to the professor. The professor evidently did not like it; he did not reply to Mr. Pinkham's fourth letter and he declined to consent to the publication of his side of the interesting correspondence. Hence one must rely upon the matter contained in Mr. Pinkham's replies for an idea of what the professor may have written up to the time of his abandonment of the controversy. Professor Fosdick's published "Challenge of the Present Crisis" is, however, quoted by Mr. Pinkham as a fair indication of the ideas of Prof. Fosdick which the latter is willing that the public shall know, and the ideas expressed in these quotations are interesting targets for the capable and rather pointed shafts of Mr. Pinkham.

A good deal is said in this correspondence about the Moral Order and what Jesus would do. Mr. Pinkham thinks that the Moral Order is best apprehended by observing consequences of the acts of governments and men. As to what Jesus would do he quotes the utterances of the Nazarene, which indeed seem clear enough to any competent intelligence. It is never difficult to understand the precepts of Christianity; but it is often difficult to understand many who undertake to teach them to us. Professor Fosdick is one of these. He says on p. 31 of his book, "None can be dogmatically sure what Jesus would say about our duty in the present war." He is mistaken. Reverend Albert C. Dieffenbach, D.D., in an editorial in *The Christian Register* of August 15, 1918, is dogmatically sure. He says:

> He would take bayonet and grenade and bomb and rifle and do the work of deadliness against that which is the most deadly enemy of his Father's Kingdom in a thousand years. . . . That is the inexorable truth about Jesus Christ and this war: and we rejoice to say it.

Professor Fosdick's Jesus is not so bloodthirsty as the Jesus of the Reverend Mr. Dieffenbach, D.D., but

* "Collective Homicide—Letters to Harry Emerson Fosdick" —With an Introduction by Charles F. Dole and a Note from Norman Angell; published by The Association to Abolish War, 7 Wellington Terrace, Brookline, Mass.

it is clear enough that the professor does not believe the teachings of Jesus are practicable in the world today. Mr. Pinkham makes out a clear case, and if anybody is uncertain about the ethics and utility of war, this correspondence is very good matter for him to read. It may help to save him from future self-deception.

FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH.

CORRESPONDENCE

Hindoo and Mohammedan

219B Bluff, Yokohama,

Dear Mr. Holmes: I have been receiving UNITY and was glad to see the sane letter from Calcutta signed by W. H. Roberts.

Mr. Holmes, in these days of sickening dread and anguish of mind and spirit for the crucified Christians of the Near East, no thought of "Gandhi" could enter into my mind, but my heart is full to overflowing, and I want to tell you that when I read your letters and articles about Gandhi and the "Khalifate," I think I hear Jesus Christ saying "Holmes! Holmes! Why persecutest thou me?" for it is true, Mr. Holmes, in booming up the "Khalifate" as you are doing in your paper you are persecuting the most cruelly wronged and suffering of all peoples of the earth; that is the Christians of the Near East, whom, what are called the "Powers of Europe" have been holding up to the ravening wolves and hyenas of the blood dripping jaws that are called Turks for long years; these poor Christians whom the "Allies," since four years of the Armistice, have betrayed and crucified. It is enough what the "Allies" have done and are doing, Mr. Holmes, do not add to the iniquity by booming up the "Khalifate" and increasing the woes of the unfortunate Christians who have already agonized in Gethsemane and climbed up Calvary and died on the cross a hundred times over again, in all the long, long years of terror, martyrdom, agony, slaughter, despair.

Pity the Christian girls and women dragging out their miserable existence in the hell of Turkish harems! Pity the Christian children tortured in Moslem homes and lost to the faith of their fathers! Pity the thousands upon thousands of Christian mothers who have had to see with their own eyes their children brutally murdered! Pity all these! and let the fictitious "Khalifate" which should mean nothing to you (a Christian and a clergyman), let the "Khalifate" go.

India is a country so complex that the exhaustive study of a whole lifetime would not suffice to know it and understand it. But one thing stands out in India, it stands out gigantic like the Himalayas, and that one thing is, *Hindoo and Mohammedan!* Hindoo and Mohammedan not united but disunited. Have you seen the Himalayas? Have you stood and looked at that gigantic range towering from the earth to the sky? Even so, *"Hindoo and Mohammedan"* stand out in India in the moral realm. They stand out to the mental vision, towering above all other realities, actualities, dreams or imaginations.

Gandhi wishes to fight the British; he knows that so long as Hindoo and Mohammedan are disunited he cannot succeed in his fight against the British, so he is holding out the bribe of the "Khalifate" to the Indian Moslems in the vain hope of bringing them over to the Hindoo side. Hindoo and Mohammedan will not be united, but all this spurious agitation about the fictitious "Khalifate" is strengthening the murderous hands of the bandit Mustapha Kemal.

The Turks are bandits and robbers and murderers. They have taken forcible possession of the countries of other nations whose wealth and culture they have destroyed until now over vast areas desolation reigns supreme with the owl and the jackal as the sole inhabitants. They have murdered the heirs of the inheritance they have stolen; they have killed and taken possession. And are you, Mr. Holmes, an American, a Christian gentleman, going to hold a brief for murderers and robbers?—the most cruel, the most depraved, the most inhuman on the face of the earth?

Are you, Mr. Holmes, going to beat down Jesus Christ and exalt Mohammed?

Let Gandhi mind his own business. If he wishes to fight the British, let him do so, that is nothing to me; but let him leave alone the Sevres Treaty and the "Khalifate," and "the rights of the Turks"; the rights of the robber, the murderer, the destroyer, the usurper; the rights of fiends incarnate, of ravening wolves and hyenas of the blood dripping jaws.

Asia Minor and Armenia do not belong to the Turks. The Greeks and Armenians are the heirs of these lands. Take your Bible and read it, and see to what nation Smyrna belongs. The Turks came into our country and murdered our people; they lived for centuries in idleness and did eat of the toil of the Greeks and Armenians until now under the benign influences and with the kind assistance of Christian Powers, Christian governments, they are eating up Greeks and Armenians wholesale.

A Parsee gentleman talking to me the other day said, "The British government betrayed India! If they had kept to their promises during the war of giving the Indian people certain rights and privileges in their own country, all India would be quiet and not a word said against the British."

I answered, "Yes, I know! The British government betrayed India, but they also betrayed and crucified Armenia; and because the British government betrayed India, that is no reason why India must howl for the crucifixion of Armenia!"

Events are proceeding apace, and God alone knows where the iniquitous policies of the European governments pursued in the Near East are going to end. I am dreading the fate of Smyrna for Constantinople; it is sickening to contemplate, but those wild wolves that are known as Turks will stop at nothing, and a frightful catastrophe now threatens the world; it almost makes one feel as if the world is coming to an end.

I am not quarreling with you, Mr. Holmes. I am writing to you with a heart full. You seem to be so oblivious of the frightful, fearful, terrible sufferings of the Christian peoples of the Near East, and you only keep on booming Gandhi. If Gandhi were the Saint he is trying to pose before the world he would not demand the revision of the Sevres Treaty. That is only a trick on his part to bring the Mohammedans to the side of the Hindoos, but Mohammedans can never unite with any other religionists and many save Hindoos in India as well as all the Parsees, Jews and Christians in that country know it. In India nobody trusts the Mohammedans but everybody distrusts and fears them, because everybody knows that the religion of Mohammed is the religion of the sword.

Never mind how wicked, cruel and depraved Christian governments are. Never mind if Christian nations fly at each other's throat; but the religion of Jesus Christ is not the religion of the sword. It becomes a very dreadful thing when a religion that is the religion of the sword exercises its influence on the human mind and the human heart. It produces Turks and Arabs, for the Arabs and Kurds are just as cruel as the Turks. Look at Persia! What makes Persia stagnant? The Mohammedan religion!

This booming of a spurious agitation for a fictitious "Khalifate" is fanning the flames of a fire that devours innocent victims. Do not do it, Mr. Holmes. I say as W. H. Roberts has done: "A Christian should think long and carefully before he gives his blessing to their efforts."

DIANA AGABEG APCAR.

P. S.—Gandhi preaches "non-violence." Why? Because he knows what you do not know, Mr. Holmes, that there is an aggressive element inside of his country, an element so aggressive that if once violence is started they will sweep everything before them, and Hindoos will perish in the maelstrom just as quickly as Parsees and Christians and Jews, so Gandhi is trying to keep the 76 million Moslems in traces by preaching a gospel of "non-violence" and then he gives them the sop of the "Khalifate" and the revision of the Sevres Treaty. What is the Turkish Sultan or the Sevres Treaty to India? Do you think one man in the 200 million Hindoos cares? And do 500 men out of the 200 millions understand what it is? Lucky for India that there are 200 millions Hindoos standing on the soil, or else the Mohammedans would make "holy war" every day in the country.

In 1878 when the Russian army stood at the gates of Constantinople and what is called "Turkey" was all but finished, did any Hindoo or Mohammedan even trouble to ask what was happening? I lived in India then and I know how absolutely indifferent India was as regards the fate of "Turkey." Now all this "Khalifate" business has been cooked up for political ends; the Turcophiles in London are grinding their axe and Gandhi is grinding his axe in India; and you, in far away America, are expressing opinions which only fan the flames of a fire that is devouring the helpless Christians in the Near East.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE PROTEST OF ARTISTS AND WRITERS AGAINST THE BURSUM INDIAN BILL.

"To the American Public:

"When legislation affecting the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico has been introduced in Congress by a senator from that state, with the alleged support of the Indians and apparent approval of the Indian office; when it has been briefly questioned by Senator Borah and then accepted by the Senate unanimously, the American public might suppose the legislation known as the Bursum Indian Bill to be an act dealing justly with the Indians and bringing credit to the state and nation responsibly concerned.

"As it happens, the American public would be deceived. The bill, which has passed a misinformed Senate and is now before the house, is grossly unjust to the Indians, violates every official protestation that the government is their protector, and is, moreover, in such imminence of becoming law that only that vaguely accessible power, the public, can prevent a great wrong.

"The Indians, helpless politically, have issued, with one voice from all the Pueblos, a dignified but moving manifesto, asking fair play.

"Adding our voice to theirs in this emergency, we, the undersigned, who have had an opportunity to study conditions among the villages and to understand the faithless provisions of the projected law, and who intend doing our best to expose the facts, call upon the American people to protest immediately against the impending Bursum Indian Bill, whether in its present form or with disingenuous amendments. We ask this for the sake of the Pueblos, who, though probably the most industrious and deserving of all our Indian wards, are now threatened with the loss of their lands and of their community existence. We ask it even more for the sake of Americans themselves, as a test of national honor.

"(Signed) F. G. Applegate, Mary Austin, Jozef Bakos, Ruth Laughlin Barker, Gustave Baumann, E. L. Blumenschein, Witter Bynner, Gerald Cassidy, Ina Sizer Cassidy, John Collier, Alice Corbin, Randall Davey, Fremont Older, Charles K. Field, Leon Gaspard, Stephen Graham, Zane Grey, Wm. Penhallow Henderson, Robert Henri, Victor Higgins, Dana Johnson, C. Grant La Farge, D. H. Lawrence, Ralph Meyers, Harriet Monroe, Willard Nash, B. J. O. Nordfeldt, Elsie Clews Parsons, Sheldon Parsons, B. G. Phillips, Olive Rush, Carl Sandburg, Lew Sarett, Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, J. H. Sharp, Will Shuster, John Sloan, Mabel Sterne, Walter Ufer, Carlos Vierra, Harriet Welles, Stewart Edward White, William Allen White, Charles Erskine Scott Wood, Vachel Lindsay, Maxfield Parrish, Edgar Lee Masters, Henry Herton Knibbs."

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS REFERENDUM.

A National Challenge.

At the December meeting of all the delegates constituting the official membership of the Detroit Council of Churches, the following articles and resolutions were read, carefully and prayerfully considered, and unanimously and enthusiastically adopted. The Council instructed its officers to have the articles printed and the following named persons were appointed to present them to Senator James Couzens in person, and to forward a copy of the same to Senator Woodbridge N. Ferris, viz.: Dean Warren L. Rogers, Rev. Joseph A. Vance, Rev. M. C. Pearson, Mr. Wellington M. Logan, Rev. Minot C. Morgan, Rev. H. C. Gleiss, Rev. Chester B. Emerson and Rev. Lynn Harold Hough.

Articles.

WE BELIEVE that war between peoples and nations is a curse to mankind morally and economically, and that it is destructive of civilization.

WE BELIEVE that wars and great armaments should be outlawed by the civilized peoples of the World.

WE BELIEVE that it is practicable to abolish wars between nations and peoples, by the united action of substantially *all* of the nations, *and not otherwise.*

WE BELIEVE that the League of Nations now functioning between fifty-one nations, or some similar organization, is the practical way in which to abolish war, and that it may be made effective and vigorous by the co-operation of the United States.

WE BELIEVE that such an organization cannot achieve its chief purpose so long as the United States remains outside, because it is the greatest nation, the richest, most powerful, most detached and disinterested.

WE BELIEVE that our participation in such an organization would give to its efforts for peace and disarmament the power and force and leadership requisite to the beneficent end to be accomplished.

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A Message from Bulgaria

January 20, 1923.

Editor UNITY:

I translate the following just and true editorial from *L'Echo de Bulgarie* of Sofia:

"The tent covers the merchandize. It covers it so well that sometimes one can see nothing outside the tent, and the sentiments that the tent inspires are turned forcibly on the unfortunate contents which cannot make themselves known. In the same fashion the regime to which certain nations submit often covers and hides the whole content of the country. The animosities that this regime may provoke on the outside fall necessarily on the heads of the innocent populations, which suffer from all the adventures and all the follies undertaken in their name. When it was once a question of Austria-Hungary and of its politics, anachronistic and wicked, people did not always think of the mosaic of races which composed it and especially of its Slav majority compelled to yield to all the caprices of the country. The monarchy was called dualistic and that seemed to say the whole thing, that it was the great centre of reaction and of the intrigues which vitiated the whole atmosphere of Europe before the war.

"It was the same with the Russia of the Czar, the Germany of the Kaiser, the Bulgaria of Ferdinand. One knew nothing of the living peoples who worked and suffered in silence, controlled by custom and tradition which accident or violence had imposed upon them.

"This manner of seeing and of judging is not yet abandoned. Men speak today of 'Bolshevist Russia,' 'Kemalist Turkey,' and even of militarist France without wishing to look below at the realities covered by these easy epithets.

"We would welcome as a remedy a modification of language. One should abandon the abstract terms of 'Russia,' of the 'Empire,' or of 'Bulgaria' which are simply visible objects on which each one may fix the picture of his imagination. A great progress will be realized when we cease to speak of the state but of the Russian people, the German people, or the Bulgarian people. One would then immediately have before his eyes the visions of these millions of human beings, no better and no worse than others, driven by sorrow and attracted by the mirage of a vanishing happiness."

Very truly yours,

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

WE BELIEVE this would not only do much to restore the distracted and half starving peoples of Europe to prosperity and the pursuits of peace, but would relieve America of great burdens of taxation for all time to come.

WE BELIEVE, in view of the many organizations being created to secure such action, and the urgent resolutions being passed by both religious and secular organizations all over the United States, regardless of political affiliation, that the great majority of the American people will urge the United States to join such an organization (under appropriate reservations), provided the question be submitted to them free from party politics.

WE BELIEVE this should be divorced absolutely from partisanship, and the question decided upon its own merits, at a nation-wide referendum (advisory to the government), at a time and by methods fixed by Congress, with ample time allowed for consideration, divorced from all other questions and from individual candidates.

WE BELIEVE the problem of ending war is one of life and death for the world, that this problem transcends in importance all other questions of a practical nature now before the American people, and that it should be pressed to immediate solution.

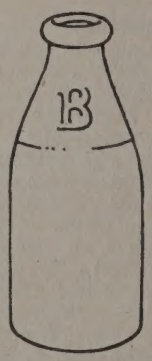
WE BELIEVE that a mere economic conference, even though including the matter of reparations, would not be adequate, because to provide for disarmament and permanent peace, a permanent organization is indispensable.

Therefore Resolved, that we recommend that the United States Government provide for a nation-wide referendum, free from all other questions and from individual candidacies, on substantially this question, namely:

"Shall the United States join the League of Nations, or some similar organization, under such reservations or amendments as the United States Senate may agree upon?"

Resolved, that we urge Senator Couzens to introduce and press such a measure, and call upon Senator Ferris to give it his hearty support.

Resolved, that a committee of eight, appointed by the President of the Council, and of which he shall be chairman, be directed to present these resolutions to Senator Couzens, in person if possible, and forward a copy of them to Senator Ferris.



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